594 611 [591] ternal; either husband's or wife's relatives lived with family, as shown in chart for 2 family groups (above). For few years after marriage, residence was either patrilocal or matrilocal, depending on type of marriage entered into (see below); this factor is reflected in composition [614 616 618] of family groups, which do not differ essentially from ours and consist mainly of husband, wife, and children. Clans, moieties lacking.

● 601 Relationship terms.- Relationship system of Yuman type (Spier, 1925, 75) with both parallel, cross cousins counted as brothers and sisters; Tübatulabal system has been described, discussed thoroughly by Gifford (Gifford, 1917, 219, 232; 1922, 123 ff.). An unusual feature of system, which Tübatulabal share with N, S Calif. tribes (Gifford, 1922, 257) is that linguistic cognizance is taken of death of kin; among Tübatulabal this is done by (1) appending suffix to kinship term used for relative who has died, (2) appending another suffix to term used for connecting relative, (3) using suppletive kinship term for parent after death of speaker's sibling (Voegelin, 1935 a, 154). Relationship with lineal, collateral kin is recognized only for 3 ascending, 3 descending generations from speaker.

582 583 581 Marriage.- Man usually married within own generation or generation below; informants said man had to be about 20, woman 14-18 yrs. old before they married. Marriages essentially economic transactions between families of 2 contracting parties; most customary form was so-called mar- [584] riage by purchase. Man, woman came to agreement between themselves; man informed his parents, who asked woman's parents for their daughter; these latter ascertained if woman willing. Man's parents paid woman's equivalent of $30-40 in clamshell money for woman and she was then taken home by groom to his father's house, woman's mother giving presents of baskets to groom's parents at this time. Money paid for woman went to her mother (FP), her father (PN). SM's mother had bought Yokuts wife for SM, unknown to latter; "she chose that woman for Steban because she knew she was a good worker" (FP).

[836] 583 Less formal matings often occurred at dances; man had intercourse with woman, although mothers warned their daughters against this; couple decided to live together; man took woman home to his father's house; next day his parents usually took woman's parents some clamshell money in payment for woman (FP).

Sometimes no money paid for woman; man obtained woman's parents' consent to marry their daughter, then he and woman lived with woman's parents for year or so, man helping his wife's parents during this time (see Autobiography of FP). Other examples of relatively recent forms of mating given in MM's autobiography (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229, 233).

000 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's

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TÜBATULABAL AND KAWAIISU KINSHIP TERMS

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

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INTRODUCTION

In November and December, 1915, the [illegible] was engaged in an examination of the tribes inhabiting the eastern and southern slopes of the San Joaquin drainage basin to determine the limits in California of social and ceremonial organization on the basis of dual divisions.[1] Among the tribes visited were the Tübatulabal of the Kern River region in the southern Sierra Nevada and the adjoining Kawaiisu of the Tehachapi Mountains at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Both of these Shoshonean groups lack the dual organization for which the writer was seeking. The kinship systems of these two peoples are of especial interest, however, and the facts about them are presented in the following pages. Important features of these systems are the use of single terms for reciprocal relationships (identical-reciprocals), the use of diminutive suffixes, and the use of terms and suffixes denoting the condition of connecting relatives.

[1] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291-296, 1916.

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The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

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and not merely the ordinary term plus a suffix as in the case of relatives by affinity. The terms applied to five such relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relatives were obtained. The suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added in these cases, apparently with some such meaning as "used to be;" for this is the meaning given for the analogous Kawaiisu suffix -puni or -repuni. Doubtless the suffix is added to other Tübatulabal terms of affinity besides the five mentioned, but examples were not obtained. It is not unlikely also that the term nawasu (child's spouse's parent) is changed upon the death of one of the connecting relatives, just as the corresponding Kawaiisu term teeni is changed (see p. 232). The Tübatulabal term kali (father's sister's husband) and its identical-reciprocal take the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ (see p. 222). On this account it is suspected that all other analogous terms for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews by affinity likewise take this suffix. However, information on this point was not obtained.

In the following list m. s. and w. s. stand respectively for "man speaking" and "woman speaking."

TÜBATULABAL RELATIONSHIP TERMS[5]

ana. Father (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare kumu (father), abu (mother), and ümü (mother).

kumu. Father (after death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father, stepfather. Reciprocals: tumu (son; daughter; brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather, while yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother.

abu. Mother (before death of a child, that is to say, before the death of a brother or sister of the speaker). Reciprocal: tumu (son, daughter). Compare ümü (mother), ana (father), and kumu (father).

ümü. Mother (after the death of a child, that is to say, after the death of a brother or sister of the speaker), mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother. Reciprocal: tumu (son; daughter; sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child).

[5] The terms anociwan, kuñan, pauwan, soiyin, tohan, wüñin, and yuguan were always given with the terminal -n, which means "my" (see A. L. Kroeber, Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VIII, 262, 1909). The terms agist, amust, hümübic, impaiyis, wasumbis, wo.ict, and ya.ubic were never given with the terminal -n. The remaining terms were given both with and without it, and are here listed without it. In reference, and sometimes in address, the suffix -nuñ, also with the meaning "my," is added to the term as in wasumbisnuñ, tôhanuñ, and kutcinuñ.

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●601 tumu. Son, daughter, brother's child (m. s.), sister's child (w. s.), half brother's child (m. s.), half sister's child (w. s.), husband's brother's child, wife's sister's child. Reciprocals: ana (father), abu (mother), kumu (father, father's older brother, mother's sister's husband older than father), ümü (mother, mother's older sister, father's brother's wife older than mother), tôhan (father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father), yugu (mother's younger sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother).

patci. Older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

nalawi. Younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker. Reciprocals: kutci (older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker), patci (older brother, older half brother, male cousin older than speaker).

kutci. Older sister, older half sister, female cousin older than speaker. Reciprocal: nalawi (younger brother, younger sister, younger half brother, younger half sister, cousin younger than speaker).

impaiyis. Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.), sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.). Reciprocal: impaiyis.

tôhan. Father's younger brother, mother's sister's husband younger than father. Reciprocal: tumu (brother's child, m. s.; wife's sister's child).

yugu. Mother's younger sister, mother's younger half sister, father's brother's wife younger than mother, stepmother. Reciprocals: tumu (sister's child, w. s.; half sister's child, w. s.; husband's brother's child), aiyawutawa (stepson), anociwan (stepdaughter). It is interesting to note that yugu, the term for mother's *younger* sister, is used for stepmother, while kumu, the term for father's *older* brother, is used for stepfather.

aiyawutawa. Stepson. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

anociwan. Stepdaughter. Reciprocals: kumu (stepfather), yugu (stepmother).

pauwan. Father's sister, mother's brother's wife. Reciprocal: amust (brother's child, w. s.; husband's sister's child).

amust. Brother's child (m. s.), husband's sister's child. Reciprocal: pauwan (father's sister, mother's brother's wife).

kali. Mother's brother, father's sister's husband. Reciprocal: kalibin (sister's child, m. s.; wife's brother's child).

kalibin. Sister's child (m. s.), wife's brother's child. Reciprocal: kali (mother's brother, father's sister's husband). Kalipaiyüñ. Wife's brother's child (after death of wife), father's sister's husband (after death of father's sister). It does not seem likely that the ending -paiyüñ is added to kali with the meaning mother's brother or sister's child (m. s.), as the relationship is one of blood, not marriage.

aka. Father's father. Reciprocal: akabin (son's child, m. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

akabin. Son's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: aka (father's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apa. Father's mother. Reciprocal: apavin (son's child, w. s.). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

apavin. Son's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: apa (father's mother). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

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agist. Mother's father. Reciprocal: agistbin (daughter's child, m. s.). Inasmuch as utsu (mother's mother) and its reciprocal utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.) apply to collateral as well as to lineal relatives, the term agist and its reciprocal agistbin, being analogous, doubtless apply likewise to collateral as well as lineal relatives.

agistbin. Daughter's child (m. s.). Reciprocal: agist (mother's father). It probably applies also to collateral relatives (see agist).

utsu. Mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister. Reciprocal: utsubin (daughter's child, w. s.; sister's daughter's child, w. s.; half sister's daughter's child, w. s.).

utsubin. Daughter's child (w. s.), sister's daughter's child (w. s.), half sister's daughter's child (w. s.). Reciprocal: utsu (mother's mother, mother's mother's sister, mother's mother's half sister).

hôki. Grandparent or grandchild (after the death of the connecting relative). Reciprocal: hôki.

saka. Great-grandparent. Reciprocal: sakabin (great-grandchild).

sakabin. Great-grandchild. Reciprocal: saka (great-grandparent).

kuñan. Husband. Reciprocal: soiyin (wife).

soiyin. Wife. Reciprocal: kuñan (husband).

wô.ict. Co-wife, co-husband. Reciprocal: wo.ict.

wasumbis. Spouse's parent, wife's mother's sister. Reciprocals: tasi (son's wife), wüñin (daughter's husband). Wasumpaiyüñ or wasumbisipüniñ. Spouse's parent (after death of spouse).

tasi. Son's wife. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). Tasipaiyüñ. Son's wife (after death of speaker's son).

wüñin. Daughter's husband, half sister's daughter's husband. Reciprocal: wasumbis (spouse's parent). wüniüpaiyüñ or wüniüpüniñ. Daughter's husband (after death of speaker's daughter).

ya.ubic. Wife's brother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband).

piya.[6] Sister's husband, half sister's husband, husband's brother, daughter's daughter's husband (w. s.). Reciprocals: tugu (brother's wife), ya.ubic (wife's brother), yuguan (wife's sister, wife's mother's mother). Piyapaiyüñ. Sister's husband (after death of speaker's sister, w. s.).[7]

yuguan. Wife's sister, wife's half sister, wife's mother's mother. Reciprocal: piya (sister's husband, half sister's husband, daughter's daughter's husband).

tugu. Brother's wife, daughter's son's wife (w. s.). Reciprocals: hümübic (husband's sister), piya (husband's brother).

hümübic. Husband's sister. Reciprocal: tugu (brother's wife).

nawasu. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: nawasu.

There are certain relationships about which the statements of informants are unsatisfactory or contradictory. These are discussed in the following paragraphs and table. In the table the terms which I have considered as most likely correct are italicized.

By one informant anociwan was given for daughter, by the same informant and one other for brother's daughter (m. s.), and by a third

[6] One informant applied this term also to wife's brother, wife's sister, and brother's wife (m. s.).

[7] Doubtless the ending -paiyüñ is suffixed to piya used in other ways, and to ya.ubic, yuguan, hümübic, and tugu, following the death of the connecting relative. The above example, however, is the only one obtained.

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•601 informant for wife's sister's daughter. The third informant also gave aiyawutawa for wife's sister's son. In the list on page 222 the meanings of these two terms appear as stepdaughter and stepson respectively, as these are the only positively ascertained meanings.

Mrs. John Nicolas, a Kernville Tübatulabal, gave osambis as the term for sister's child (w. s.). She was very positive about it, and although it was obtained from no one else, it may represent a dialectic difference. An Onyx (South Fork of Kern River) informant, Tom Pope, stated that the people about Kernville, on the main Kern River, used certain terms which were not used on the South Fork. He mentioned as an example the term hôki, which is the term for a grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. According to Mrs. Nicolas, there were two terms for great-grandparents, saka for great-grandfather, ipi for great-grandmother, with reciprocals sakabin and ipibin. Other informants gave saka for both grandparents. This, too, may be a dialectic difference. As shown in the case of the Miwok, such variations in a relationship system may occur within a few miles.[8]

UNCERTAIN USAGES OF TERMS*

Relationship	*Informants*					
	Bill Chico	Petra Miranda	Clotilda L. Gomez	Tom Pope	Mrs. John Nicolas	Indian Henry
Wife's sister's child	kali	——	*tumu*	kalibin	kalibin	aiyawutawa anociwan
Wife's sister	*yuguan*	——	piya	*yuguan*	*yuguan*	tugu
Sister's husband (w. s.)	*piya*	kumobic	*piya*	*piya*	*piya*	kumobic
Brother's wife (m. s.)	——	tumubic	piya	piya	*tugu*	*tugu*
Husband's sister	——	kumoanana	tugu	tugu	*hümübic*	*hümübic*
Wife's sister's husband	——	impaiyis	——	——	patci	piya
Husband's brother's wife	——	anakutcim	——	——	anakutcim	tugu

* After this table was in type the following terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law were secured from Mrs. Mary Imitirio, a Tübatulabal woman living on Tule River Indian Reservation, Tulare County, California: Wife's brother, piya; sister's husband (m. s.), piya; wife's sister, yuguan; sister's husband (w. s.), piya; husband's brother, ya.ubic; brother's wife (w. s.), tugu; husband's sister, hümübic, brother's wife (w. s.), tugu.

601 128 The analysis of the Tübatulabal terms of relationship in the succeeding table is on the basis of the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[9] His eighth category, "Condition of the connecting relative," is here amplified in meaning so as to cover the change of terms for father and mother following the death of one or more of their children (see abu and ümü = mother, ana and kumu = father,

[8] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. Compare the meanings of ate, kole, and teale.

[9] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

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in the preceding list on p. 222.) The cross used in the following table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

In the following table the category "Generation" is undoubtedly expressed by more terms than would be the case if fuller genealogical

CATEGORICAL ANALYSIS OF TÜBATULABAL KINSHIP TERMS

Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation	Condition of connecting relative
abu	×	×	×	×	....	....	....	×
agist	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
agistbin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
aiyawutawa	×	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
aka	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
akabin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
amust	×	....	×	....	×	×	....	....
ana	×	×	×	×	....	....	....	×
anociwan	×	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
apa	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
apavin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
hôki	....	×	×	....	....	....	....	×
hümübie	×	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
impaiyis	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
kalibin	×	....	×	....	×	×	....	×
kali	×	....	×	×	×	....	....	×
kumu	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	×
kuñan	×	×	....	×	....	×	....	....
kutei	×	×	....	×	....	....	×	....
nalawi	×	×	....	....	....	....	×	....
nawasu	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
patei	×	×	....	×	....	....	×	....
pauwan	×	....	×	×	×	....	....	....
piya	....	×	....	×	....	....	....	×
saka	×	×	×	....	....	....	....	....
sakabin	×	×	×	....	....	....	....	....
soiyin	×	×	....	×	....	×	....	....
tasi	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	×
tohan	×	....	×	×	....	....	×	....
tugu	....	×	....	×	....	....	....	....
tumu	×	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
ütsu	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	....
utsubin	×	×	....	....	×	×	....	....
ümü	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	×
wasumbis	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	×
wô.iet	×	×	....	....	....	....	....	....
wüñin	×	×	....	×	×	....	....	×
ya.ubie	×	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
yugu	×	....	....	×	....	....	×	....
yuguan	....	×	....	×	×	×	....	....
Terms*	36	31	10	25	17	11	7	11

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

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601 evidence were available, for terms of affinity, such as hümübic (husband's sister) and ya.ubic (wife's brother), would probably be found to refer to more than one generation just as do piya (sister's husband; daughter's daughter's husband, w. s.), tugu (brother's wife; daughter's son's wife, w.s.), and yuguan (wife's sister; wife's mother's mother). Even with this reduction, however, the category "Generation" would stand out as one of those most frequently expressed. Probably the category "Condition of connecting relative" really finds expression in far more terms than it appears to in the following table, for, as already mentioned, further investigation will doubtless demonstrate that the suffix -paiyüñ or -püniñ is added to all of the terms of affinity upon the death of the connecting relative. If such is found to be the case, the number of terms in which this category finds expression will be doubled.

The fragmentary genealogy on page 227 is presented for the purpose of demonstrating the use of the Tübatulabal relationship terms. The genealogy was supplied by Wanamŭt (number 11 in the genealogy), who is otherwise known as Mrs. Mercedes Linares, and by her daughter Tcaigump (19), otherwise known as Mrs. Clotilda Linares Gomez. Names in italics are those of women.

The following kinship terms were obtained from Wanamŭt (11) and Tcaigump (19) as applied between them and the individuals appearing in the above genealogy:

1 calls 11 hôki (daughter's daughter following death of 1's daughter; 11 calls 1 hôki (mother's father following death of 11's mother). 1 calls 19 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 1 saka (mother's mother's father).

3 calls 11 tumu (daughter); 11 calls 3 ümü (mother following the death of a child). 3 calls 19 utsubin (daughter's daughter); 19 calls 3 utsu (mother's mother).

5 calls 11 tumu (sister's daughter); 11 calls 5 yugu (mother's younger sister). 5 calls 19 utsubin (sister's daughter's daughter); 19 calls 5 utsu (mother's mother's sister).

6, 7, and 8 call 11 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 11 calls 6, 7, and 8 tôhan (mother's sister's husband younger than father). 19 calls 6, 7, and 8 nothing; no reason was given.

9 calls 11 nalawi (younger sister); 11 calls 9 kutci (elder sister). 9 calls 19 tumu (sister's daughter); 19 calls 9 ümü (mother's older sister).

11 calls 10 piya (sister's husband). 10 calls 19 tumu (wife's sister's daughter); 19 calls 10 kumu (mother's sister's husband older than father).

11 calls 19 tumu (daughter). 19 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child, that is, my brother or sister).

12 calls 11 soiyin (wife); 11 calls 12 kuñan (husband).

14 calls 11 yugu (mother's younger sister); 11 calls 14 tumu (sister's daughter). 14 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 14 kutci (older half sister).

601

* By "Fresno Indian" is probably meant a Yokuts from Fresno County.

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T
● 601 15 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 15 tumu (daughter). 15 calls 19 nalawi (younger half sister); 19 calls 15 kutci (older half sister).

16 calls 11 wasumbis (wife's mother); 11 calls 16 wüñin (daughter's husband). 16 calls 19 yuguan (wife's half sister); 19 calls 16 piya (half sister's husband).

17 calls 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 17 tumu (daughter). 17 calls 19 nalawi (younger sister); 19 calls 17 kutci (older sister).

20, 21, and 22 call 11 ümü (mother following the death of a child); 11 calls 20, 21, and 22 tumu (son). 20, 21, and 22 call 19 kutci (older sister); 19 calls 20, 21, and 22 nalawi (younger brother). 20, 21, and 22 call 19's children kalibin (sister's child); 19's children call 20, 21, and 22 kali (mother's brother).

23 calls 11 wasumbis (husband's mother); 11 calls 23 tasi (son's wife). 23 calls 19 hümübic (husband's sister); 19 calls 23 tugu (brother's wife).

24 and 25 call 11 utsu (mother's mother); 11 calls 24 and 25 utsubin (daughter's daughter). 24 and 25 call 19 yugu (mother's younger half sister); 19 calls 24 and 25 tumu (half sister's daughter).

26 calls 11 yuguan (wife's mother's mother); 11 calls 26 piya (daughter's daughter's husband). 26 calls 19 wasumbis (wife's mother's half sister); 19 calls 26 wüñin (half sister's daughter's husband).

27 and 28 call 11 apa (father's mother); 11 calls 27 and 28 apavin (son's child). 27 and 28 call 19 pauwan (father's sister); 19 calls 27 and 28 amust (brother's child).

29 calls 11 saka (mother's mother's mother); 11 calls 29 sakabin (daughter's daughter's daughter). 29 calls 19 utsu (mother's mother's half sister); 19 calls 29 utsubin (half sister's daughter's daughter).

12 calls 24 and 25 agistbin (daughter's daughter); 24 and 25 call 12 agist (mother's father).

KAWAIISU

K
601 Forty-three Kawaiisu terms of relationship[10] were obtained; these include ten terms which are exact reciprocals except that they have diminutive suffixes. As with the Tübatulabal system, there are a number of terms which take a suffix, said to mean "used to be," to indicate the death of the connecting relative. In Kawaiisu this suffix

[10] The terms for wife's sister's husband and husband's brother's wife were not ascertained to my satisfaction. The evidence stands as follows:

Relationship	*Informants*			
	J. Nichols	M. Williams	A. Brown	R. Williams
Wife's sister's husband	nawabiu	——	atamwoni	pavini saka.ini
Husband's brother's wife	——	nama.ini	nama.ini	nama.ini patcini nabuzieni

Mrs. Refugia Williams stated that the terms pavini and saka.ini are applied according to the ages of the women concerned, not according to the ages of the two men. This is in line with the Kawaiisu method of classifying aunts and uncles by affinity (see p. 235). Mrs. Williams also stated that the term nabuzieni becomes nabuzirepuni following the death of the connecting relative. The use of the terms brother and sister for these two relationships is paralleled in the analogous Tübatulabal data (see table of "Uncertain Usages of Terms," p. 224).

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nekomwhoni. Sister's husband (w. s.), husband's brother. Reciprocal: nebiwhoni (wife's sister; brother's wife, m. s.). Nekumrepuni. Sister's husband (following death of speaker's sister, w. s.), husband's brother (following death of speaker's husband).

wüsimbiani. Husband's sister, brother's wife (w. s.). Reciprocal: wüsimbiani. Wüsibirepuni. Husband's sister (following death of speaker's husband), brother's wife (following death of speaker's brother, w. s.).

teeni. Child's spouse's parent. Reciprocal: teeni. Teerepuni. Child's spouse's parent (following death of speaker's child or speaker's child's spouse).

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An analysis of the Kawaiisu terms is presented in the opposite table (p. 233). As in the case of the analysis of Tübatulabal terms on page 225, it is based on the eight categories set forth by Dr. A. L. Kroeber.[13] It is to be noted that the category "Generation" is expressed in all of the terms, a feature which is in sharp contrast with the subordination of "Generation" in the Miwok kinship system, in which it is expressed in only slightly more than one-third of the terms.[14]

The cross used in the opposite table indicates the expression of a category by a term.

COMPARISON

Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu

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Forty terms of relationship were obtained among the Tübatulabal as against forty-three among the Kawaiisu. The following table exhibits numerically the application of the terms in the two languages:

Relationship	*Number of Terms* Tübatulabal	Kawaiisu
Parent	4	4
Child	1	2
Stepchild	2	—
Brother, sister, first cousin	4	4
Aunt, uncle	6*	6*
Niece, nephew	3†	8‡
Grandparent, grandchild	9	8
Great-grandparent, great-grandchild	2	4
Relation by marriage‖	12	11

* Two of the terms for aunt and uncle are also the terms for mother and father following the death of one or more of their children.

† One of the terms (tumu) for niece or nephew is also applied to one's own child.

‡ Two of the terms for niece and nephew are also applied to son and daughter.

‖ This does not include aunts, uncles, grandparents, or grandchildren by marriage, nor does it include any of the step-relations.

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[13] Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78, 1909.

[14] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

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The Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu classifications of parents are identical. In both languages there is a special term for father and a special term for mother. These terms are used for no other relationships. Their use, however, for the parents is subject to a restriction, for they are used only as long as all of their children are alive. Upon the death of a child, the surviving children henceforth call the parent by a different term. The new term in the case of the father is that applied to the father's older brother. The new term in the case of the mother is that applied to the mother's older sister. In both languages four terms are used for the parent relationship (see the preceding table). The terms are:

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Father before death of child	ana	muwuni
Father after death of child	kumu	kuguni
Mother before death of child	abu	piyüni
Mother after death of child	ümü	mawüüni

For son and daughter the Tübatulabal have but one term, there being no distinction made as to sex of children. The Kawaiisu, on the other hand, distinguish between male and female offspring.

Relationship	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*
Son	tumu	tuwüni
Daughter	tumu	pedüni

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Only Tübatulabal data are at hand in the matter of stepchildren. It appears that the Tübatulabal are far more exact in designating stepchildren than own children. There are separate terms for stepson and stepdaughter, whereas son and daughter are united in one term, there being no distinction as to sex. Aiyawutawa is the designation for stepson, anociwan for stepdaughter. The reciprocals of these terms are not father (ana) and mother (abu), but are instead the terms for father's older brother (kumu) and mother's younger sister (yugu). This identification of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt is one-sided, for the terms aiyawutawa and anociwan are not the terms of the reciprocal nepotic relationship. The nepotic relationship is designated by the term tumu (offspring). On the one hand, the classing of the stepparents with the older paternal uncle and the younger maternal aunt and the uniting of own children with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) suggests the levirate. On the other hand, the

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lack of identification of the stepchildren with the brother's children (m. s.) and with the sister's children (w. s.) would indicate absence of the levirate. In other words, from this point of view, the Tübatulabal evidence is equivocal.

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As shown in the table on page 232, the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu both use six terms for uncles and aunts, as follows:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother	kumu	kuguni
Father's younger brother	tôhan	heeni
Father's sister	pauwan	pahani
Mother's brother	kali	cinüni
Mother's older sister	ümü	mawüüni
Mother's younger sister	yugu	nupbieni

It is to be noted that the specialization as to age is on the side of the "parallel" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the same sex. There is an absence of age specialization in the nomenclature of the "cross" aunts and uncles, that is, those related to ego through a parent of the opposite sex. Both the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu nomenclatures are identical in their treatment of aunts and uncles by consanguinity.

Next we must consider the aunts and uncles by affinity, in other words, the spouses of those listed just above:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Father's older brother's wife	——	mawüüni
Father's brother's wife older than mother	ümü	——
Father's younger brother's wife	——	nupbieni
Father's brother's wife younger than mother	yugu	——
Father's sister's husband	kali	kuguni
Mother's brother's wife	pauwan	pahani
Mother's older sister's husband	——	kuguni
Mother's sister's husband older than father	kumu	——
Mother's younger sister's husband	——	heeni
Mother's sister's husband younger than father	tôhan	——

Here we find some decided differences between the two systems. The Tübatulabal use six terms, the Kawaiisu only five. The former classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the age of a spouse in relation to the mother or the father of the speaker. The Kawaiisu classify the spouses of "parallel" uncles and aunts according to the relative ages of the uncles and aunts, and not according to the age of the spouse. The Tübatulabal scheme suggests double marriage, that is, the marriage of two brothers to two sisters. Noth-

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ing, however, is known of the marriage customs of either people, so that it is idle to dwell too much upon the possible forms of marriage suggested by the terminology. A curious feature of the Kawaiisu nomenclature is the identification of father's sister's husband with the father's older brother, the term kuguni being used where one would expect to find cinŭni. To an ardent supporter of the theory of the reflection of forms of marriage in kinship nomenclature this would prove brother-sister marriage, which is of course an absurdity. The identification of father's sister's husband with mother's brother in Tübatulabal is not so unusual. It might result from the marriage of two pairs consisting each of a brother and a sister. A common example of this type of marriage is found in the custom of cross-cousin marriage. Here again genealogies and the statements of informants as to such a form of marriage among either people are lacking.

The reciprocals for aunts and uncles by affinity are the same as for aunts and uncles by consanguinity. All of the terms of consanguinity (except Kawaiisu cinŭni, mother's brother) are also terms of affinity; hence one list answers for both.

Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
Term	Reciprocal	Term	Reciprocal
kumu	tumu	kuguni	kuutcini tuwŭni pedŭni
tôhan	tumu	heeni	heetcini tuwŭni pedŭni
panwan	amust	pahani	pahatcini
kali	kalibin	cinŭni	cinŭtcini
ümü	tumu	mawüüni	mawüütcini tuwŭni pedŭni
yugu	tumu	nupbieni	nupbietcini tuwŭni pedŭni

The preceding list shows that "parallel" nieces and nephews (brother's children, m. s., and sister's children, w. s.) are classed solely as offspring by the Tübatulabal, a condition favoring the existence of the levirate. Among the Kawaiisu the classification is paradoxical, for "parallel" nieces and nephews are not only classified as offspring (son and daughter), but also by a strictly nepotic term which is an identical-reciprocal of the term for aunt or uncle. The classification as offspring seems to be secondary, and taken alone suggests the levi-

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rate. The use of the identical-reciprocal for the nepotic relationship, however, is rather against the presence of that institution. It is possible that the classification of nieces and nephews as offspring is due to Tübatulabal influence. The Tübatulabal resemble their Shoshonean neighbors on the north in their classification of "parallel" nephews and nieces; at least this is true if we may judge from a relationship system collected at North Fork, Madera County.

The following table presents the grouping of brothers, sisters, and first cousins:

	Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
Older brother, older male cousin	patci	pavini
Younger brother, younger male cousin	nalawi	saka.ini
Older sister, older female cousin	kutci	patcini
Younger sister, younger female cousin	nalawi	nama.ini
Brother (w. s.), male cousin (w. s.)	impaiyis	——
Sister (m. s.), female cousin (m. s.)	impaiyis	——

The feature common to both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu, as exhibited in the above table, is that cousins are classified as sisters and brothers, a feature found also among the Shoshonean Mono of North Fork. The points of difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu are very clear. The former unite younger brother and younger sister in one term. This is analogous to another usage of the Tübatulabal, who unite son and daughter in one term. The Kawaiisu, however, have distinct terms for younger brother and younger sister. The Tübatulabal grouping of brothers, sisters, and cousins exhibits another feature, which is not found among the Kawaiisu but which is present among the North Fork Mono; namely, a single term for brother or male cousin (w. s.) and for sister or female cousin (m. s.).

Grandparents and grandchildren are grouped in the same manner in both Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. These terms are discussed a few pages below in connection with identical-reciprocals and diminutives. The Tübatulabal possess nine terms for the grandparent-grandchild relation; the Kawaiisu possess eight. The ninth term in Tübatulabal is hôki, which is used by either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative.

The Tübatulabal have but one term for great-grandparent and but one for great-grandchild, again paralleling the single term for offspring. The Kawaiisu have two for each of these relationships, as they distinguish sex.

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A comparison of the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in the two languages would be futile, owing to the uncertainty with regard to some of the Tübatulabal terms.

A radical difference in the classification of the grandchild's spouse and the spouse's grandparent is to be noticed. The Tübatulabal classify these relatives as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (see No. 26 on p. 228). The Kawaiisu classify the grandchild's spouse and spouse's grandparent as grandchild and grandparent, respectively. The Tübatulabal classification is similar to the Miwok.[15]

As stated earlier, diminutive suffixes are used by both the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu. At least among the latter people the diminutive suffix is also an endearment, as in piwhatcini (piwha[tci]ni), dear wife. It is also used in connection with the term for child's spouse's parent, teetcini (tee[tci]ni). Informants stated that the use in this case was for the sake of politeness. In the same way a person uses this endearment for the mother-in-law or father-in-law, yehetcini (yehe[tci]ni).

Information obtained from the Tübatulabal as to the use of the diminutive suffix -bin or -vin as a term of endearment requires substantiation. Otherwise the use of the diminutive among the Tübatulabal corresponded to its use among the Kawaiisu, except that it was employed less extensively. The following list exhibits clearly the agreements and disagreements in the use of the diminutives in the two languages. Every term is followed by its reciprocal.

Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Mother's brother	cinŭni	kali
Sister's child (m. s.)	cinŭtcini	kalibin
Father's younger brother	heeni	tôhan
Older brother's child (m. s.)	heetcini	tumu
Father's mother	hutcini	apa
Son's child (w. s.)	hutcitcini	apavin
Mother's mother	kaguni	utsu
Daughter's child (w. s.)	kagutcini	utsubin
Father's older brother	kuguni	kumu
Younger brother's child (m. s.)	kunteini	tumu
Father's father	kunoni	aka
Son's child (m. s.)	kunotcini	akabin
Mother's older sister	mawŭŭni	ŭmŭ
Younger sister's child (w. s.)	mawŭŭtcini	tumu

[15] E. W. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 172–174, 1916. See apasti, kawu, kolina, olo, wokli.

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Relationship	*Kawaiisu*	*Tübatulabal*
Great-grandmother	nama.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's younger sister	nupbieni	yugu
Older sister's child (w. s.)	nupbietcini	tumu
Father's sister	pahani	pauwan
Brother's child (w. s.)	pahatcini	amust
Great-grandfather	saka.itcini	saka
Great-grandson	pavatcini	sakabin
Great-granddaughter	patcitcini	sakabin
Mother's father	tôgoni	agist
Daughter's child (m. s.)	tôgotcini	agistbin

A glance at the preceding table betrays the fact that the Tübatulabal use the diminutive form for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren and for the sister's child (m. s.). These terms are identical-reciprocals of the terms for grandparents, great-grandparent, and mother's brother, plus the diminutive endings. This condition is matched exactly in the case of Kawaiisu terms, except in the matter of the great-grandparents and great-grandchildren; there, to be sure, the diminutive suffix is used, but a single stem is not used for the two terms of the reciprocal relation, as in Tübatulabal. In Kawaiisu there are six terms for aunts and uncles with reciprocals which are identical except for the addition of the diminutive suffix. With the exception of the case of mother's brother and reciprocal mentioned just above, these are all lacking in Tübatulabal. The difference is perhaps not so great as it appears, however, for in Kawaiisu, as already mentioned, the reciprocals of heeni, kuguni, mawüüni, and nupbieni (which are the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles) may be also the terms for son and daughter (see pp. 229-230) as well as the terms listed above. In Tübatulabal the term used for son or daughter is also used as the reciprocal of the terms for "parallel" aunts and uncles (ümü, yugu, kumu, tôhan). This reduces the constant differences between the two systems, in regard to the use of diminutives, to two. The Tübatulabal use pauwan for father's sister and amust for brother's child, w. s.; in other words, two terms with different stems and without the diminutive suffix. The Kawaiisu use pahani and pahatcini for the same relationships; in other words, two terms with the same stem and with the diminutive suffix. The Tübatulabal use of sakan and sakabin for the great-grandparent and reciprocal is analogous to the Kawaiisu use of pahani and pahatcini.

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The Kawaiisu use of nama.iteini and saka.iteini for the great-grandparents and pavateini and pateiteini for the great-grandchildren is different still, for the diminutive suffix is used with both of a pair of reciprocal terms having different stems.

The use of identical-reciprocal terms, plus a diminutive for the younger generation of the pair, seems to be more developed among the Kawaiisu than among the Tübatulabal. The former consistently apply them to the six groups of aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren. The latter consistently apply them to the four groups of grandparents and grandchildren and to the single group great-grandparent and great-grandchild. In the classification of aunts and uncles they are inconsistent, identical-reciprocals being used in only one out of the six groups. Informants among the Tübatulabal said that frequently the terms for grandchildren, which are here listed with diminutive suffixes, were used without them. Among the Mono,[16] the northern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, terms for grandchildren and grandparents are also identical, but no diminutive suffix is employed. Viewed from the standpoint of number of uses of identical-reciprocals and diminutives, the Tübatulabal are intermediate between their northern and southern neighbors.

The Tübatulabal terms hôki (grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative), impaiyis (brother or male cousin, w. s.; sister or female cousin, m. s.), nawasu (child's spouse's parent), and wo.ict (co-wife, co-husband) have identical-reciprocals, but never employ the diminutive suffix. Analogous terms among the Kawaiisu are atamwoni (wife's brother; sister's husband, m. s.), teeni (child's spouse's parent), wohoni (co-wife, co-husband), and wüsimbiani (husband's sister; brother's wife, w. s.). The explanation of the non-use of the suffix is to be found in the fact that the terms, with the exception of hôki, apply to individuals of only one generation.

Identical-reciprocal terms are of two types, distinguishable by their meanings. One type, exemplified by Tübatulabal nawasu and wo.ict and by Kawaiisu teeni and wohoni, has identical meanings; for example, the meaning of nawasu and teeni is child's spouse's parent; the reciprocal of each of these terms is also child's spouse's parent. The meanings of identical-reciprocal terms of the second type are distinctly unlike; in fact, the two meanings are the antitheses, one of

[16] Only the Mono of North Fork, Madera County, California, have been visited by the writer.

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the other; for example, the Tübatulabal term aka means father's father; the reciprocal aka or aka[bin] means son's child (m. s.). A Kawaiisu example is the term atamwoni, meaning wife's brother and sister's husband, m. s.

Certain lexical similarities between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms are obvious. The most striking resemblances are best shown by a table. In the case of the Tübatulabal term saka, together with its

Tübatulabal	*Kawaiisu*
kuñan (husband)	kupmani (husband)
patci (older brother)	patcini (older sister)
pauwan (father's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
saka (great-grandparent)	saka.ini (younger brother)
	saka.itcini (great-grandfather)

reciprocal sakabin (great-grandchild), we seem to have an example of out-and-out borrowing, the Tübatulabal using the Kawaiisu term for great-grandfather, which is merely the Kawaiisu term for younger brother plus the diminutive suffix. The reverse hypothesis is possibly the correct one, namely, that the Kawaiisu borrowed the Tübatulabal term for great-grandparent and applied it to the younger brother and then to the great-grandfather. This hypothesis, however, seems an unlikely one.

The following table summarizes the categorical analyses of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu terms presented in detail on pages 225 and 233. The columns headed "Number" give the number of terms in which each category is expressed. The columns headed "Percentage" express the number of occurrences of a category in percentages of the total number of terms.

	Tübatulabal		*Kawaiisu*	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Terms	40	....	43	....
Generation	36	90	43	100
Blood or marriage	31	78	23	53
Lineal or collateral	10	25	12	28
Sex of relative	25	63	30	70
Sex of connecting relative	17	43	16	37
Sex of speaker	11	28	16	37
Age in generation	7	18	8	19
Condition of connecting relative	11	28	12	28

The category "Generation" is expressed in all of the Kawaiisu terms as presented in this paper. Inquiry on a genealogical basis

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might break down this complete expression of the category. In Tübatulabal four out of forty terms fail to express this category; one of these four is the term hôki, which is applied to either grandparent or grandchild following the death of the connecting relative. The remaining three are the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which are applied also to spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, a very different classification from the Kawaiisu which has already been discussed.

The difference in the expression of the category "Blood or marriage" in the two languages is largely due to the difference, just mentioned, in the classification of spouse's grandparent and grandchild's spouse, which among the Kawaiisu are classed as grandparent and grandchild. This difference alone takes eight Kawaiisu terms out of this category. The corresponding Tübatulabal terms for grandparent and grandchild naturally fall under this category, as they all definitely express consanguinity without expressing affinity also.

The other categories are expressed quite similarly by the relationship systems of the two languages, with the exception of the categories "Sex of relative" and "Sex of speaker." The difference in the first instance is the result of the Tübatulabal uniting of great-grandson and great-granddaughter on the one hand and great-grandfather and great-grandmother on the other hand, while the Kawaiisu distinguish two great-grandchildren and two great-grandparents. In the second instance, "Sex of speaker," the difference is due to the use of identical-reciprocals for nepotic relatives by the Kawaiisu and to their non-use, except in one case (kali-kalibin), by the Tübatulabal.

Like the last table, the following table presents a categorical comparison, also in percentages of the number of terms, of the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu kinship systems and those presented by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on the "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[17] For Dr. Kroeber's Miwok figures those of the writer[18] have been substituted. It is clear that in at least one category, "Lineal or collateral," the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu hold a unique position and have no near approach in any of the other systems here presented, except the Miwok.[19]

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[17] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, 1909.

[18] Miwok Moieties, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XII, 171, 1916.

[19] The comparisons in the three succeeding tables must be used with reservation, as a factor of uncertainty has been introduced by differences in the collecting of the data. For Miwok the material is far more detailed than for the other groups.

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	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Number of terms	24	27	28	34	28	40	43	34	35
Generation	100	78	96	38	79	90	100	88	74
Blood or marriage	100	100	100	76	100	78	53	94	97
Lineal or collateral	100	78	100	18	93	25	28	100	80
Sex of relative	67	78	71	85	61	63	70	53	63
Sex of connecting relative	54	48	50	44	50	43	37	56	60
Sex of speaker	13	11	36	26	43	28	37	29	40
Age in generation	13	15	14	15	14	18	19	35	23
Condition of connecting relative	0	0	0	0	*	28	28	0	3

* This category is expressed in terms denoting relatives by marriage, but the number of such terms is not given. See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote, 1909.

The purpose of the two following tables is to indicate by figures the actual differences between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems and each of the other systems presented in the foregoing table. The figures in these tables are the differences between the percentages in the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu columns of the preceding table and the percentages in each of the other columns of the preceding table. The total at the foot of each column in the succeeding tables is the sum of the percentage differences, that is, the differences in percentages for each category as expressed in Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu and each of the other languages. These totals are the basis of comparison of the systems as wholes. The first table is for the Tübatulabal system, the second for the Kawaiisu. It is to be seen at a glance that the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems resemble each other far more closely than any of the other Californian systems resemble either of these. In fact, the gap between the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu systems on the one hand and the remaining Californian systems on the other hand may be said to be very conspicuous. Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu differ from each other by a total of sixty-one percentage differences, while the nearest approach to this is found between Tübatulabal and Miwok, the total of percentage differences being one hundred and seventeen, nearly twice as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. It will be noted that the Tübatulabal system is not so far removed from the other Californian systems as is the Kawaiisu. The greatest difference between the Tübatulabal and any of the other Californian systems is one hundred and seventy percentage differences, occurring between Tübatulabal and Yuki. The greatest difference

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between Kawaiisu and any other system is two hundred and thirteen percentage differences, occurring between Kawaiisu and Luiseño, both Shoshonean groups. The least difference is between Kawaiisu and Miwok, amounting to one hundred and fifty percentage differences. This least difference, however, is nearly two and one-half times as great as the difference between Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu.

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	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Kawaiisu*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	10	12	6	52	11	10	2	16
Blood or marriage	22	22	22	2	22	25	16	19
Lineal or collateral	75	53	75	7	68	3	75	55
Sex of relative	4	15	8	22	2	7	10	0
Sex of connecting relative	11	5	7	1	7	6	13	17
Sex of speaker	15	17	8	2	15	9	1	12
Age in generation	5	3	4	3	4	1	17	5
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	170	155	158	117	157*	61	162	149

KAWAIISU

	Yuki	*Pomo*	*Washo*	*Miwok*	*Yokuts*	*Tübatulabal*	*Luiseño*	*Mohave*
Generation	0	22	4	62	21	10	12	26
Blood or marriage	47	47	47	23	47	25	41	44
Lineal or collateral	72	50	72	10	65	3	72	52
Sex of relative	3	8	1	5	9	7	17	7
Sex of connecting relative	17	11	13	7	13	6	19	23
Sex of speaker	24	26	1	11	6	9	8	3
Age in generation	6	4	5	4	5	1	16	4
Condition of connecting relative	28	28	28	28	28*	0	28	25
Total	197	196	171	150	194*	61	213	184

* "Terms denoting relatives by marriage undergo a vocalic change to indicate the death of the connecting relative." See A. L. Kroeber, Classificatory Systems of Relationship, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 79, footnote. 1909. Dr. Kroeber does not indicate the number of terms so altered, hence the figures in the Yokuts column of the table for the category "Condition of connecting relative" are too large. Likewise the totals of percentage differences between Tübatulabal and Yokuts and between Kawaiisu and Yokuts are too large.

KAWAIISU, KAIBAB PAIUTE, AND UINTAH UTE

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A comparison of the Kawaiisu terms with those of the Uintah Ute of northern Utah and Kaibab Paiute of southwestern Utah and north-

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

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western Arizona obtained by Dr. Edward Sapir[20] shows a very close similarity in sound and spelling, even to the matter of the diminutive suffix. Similarity of the three groups might be expected because of the community of language, for all speak Ute-Chemehuevi dialects. The Tübatulabal, however, do not speak Ute-Chemehuevi, and, furthermore, belong to another of the four primary divisions of the Shoshonean stock;[21] hence their terms of relationship could not be expected to exhibit as strong a degree of resemblance to the Kawaiisu terms as Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms exhibit.

The thirty-two Kaibab Paiute terms secured by Dr. Sapir are listed below. Twelve of these, although very similar in sound and spelling to certain of the Kawaiisu terms, are applied in a quite different manner. (Consult in the following list numbers 4, 10–17, 22–25.)

Kaibab Paiute	*Kawaiisu*
1. moan'' (father)	muwuni (father)
2. piyan'' (mother)	piyŭni (mother)
3. tuwatsin'' (son)	tuwŭni (son)
4. pătcin'' (daughter)	pedŭni (daughter)
5. păvi(tai)n'' (older brother)	pavini (older brother) pavatcini (great-grandson)
6. tc'^{ax}qa.itcin'' (younger brother)	saka.ini (younger brother) saka.itcini (great-grandfather)
7. pătsitsin'' (older sister)	patcini (older sister) patcitcini (great-granddaughter)
8. yŭp'ian'' (younger sister)	nama.ini (younger sister)
9. namintsin'' (younger sister)	nama.itcini (great-grandmother)
10. toxon'' (grandfather)	tŏgoni (mother's father)
11. toxotsin'' (grandchild, m. s.)	tŏgotcini (daughter's child, m. s.)
12. qăxun'' (grandmother)	kaguni (mother's mother)
13. qăxutsin'' (grandchild, w. s.)	kagutcini (daughter's child, w. s.)
14. qunun'' (great-grandfather, great-grandfather's brother)	kunoni (father's father)
15. qunutsin'' (great-grandchild, m. s.; brother's great-grandchild, m. s.)	kunotcini (son's child, m. s.)
16. t'^{w}i^{w}tsin'' (great-grandmother, great-grandfather's sister)	hutcini (father's mother)
17. t'^{w}i^{w}tsitsin'' (great-grandchild, w. s.; brother's great-grandchild, w. s.)	hutcitcini (son's child, w. s.)
18. ain'' (father's brother)	heeni (father's younger brother)
19. aitsin'' (brother's child, m. s.)	heetcini (older brother's child, m. s.)
20. păan'' (father's sister, probably also mother's sister)	pahani (father's sister)
21. păatsin'' (brother's child, w. s.; probably also sister's child, w. s.)	pahatcini (brother's child, w. s.)

[20] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 132–138, 1913; also Dr. Sapir's unpublished data, which are presented in the succeeding lists of terms.

[21] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS13

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1. nebiwboni (brother's wife, m. s.; wife's sister)
2. nekomwboni (sister's husband, w. s.; husband's brother)
3. wūsimbiani (brother's wife, w. s.; husband's sister)

The uniting in Ute of the relationships expressed in 1 and 2 is in line with and a natural consequence of the combining of husband and wife in one term (number 33).

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By way of summary, we find that the Uintah Ute nomenclature exhibits six peculiarities of application which are lacking in Kawaiisu; the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature exhibits twelve; and the Tübatulabal list (although the speech is quite distinct from the preceding three groups), exhibits only ten peculiarities. It seems as though contiguity of territory is responsible for the small number of discrepancies between the Tübatulabal and the Kawaiisu nomenclatures, just as it doubtless accounts for the features they have in common, such as the terms and suffixes denoting the condition of the connecting relative. On the other hand, community of language doubtless accounts for the similar phenomena among the Uintah Ute and the Kawaiisu. Certainly contiguity of territory does not account for them, for the two groups, at least at the present time, are far removed from each other. But if community of language explains the Uintah Ute nomenclature, what can be said of the Kaibab Paiute nomenclature, which is in a dialect very similar to both Uintah Ute and Kawaiisu? Kaibab Paiute shows more peculiarities when compared to its congener Kawaiisu than does even the extraneous Tübatulabal. Clearly the position of Kaibab Paiute is anomalous. Although linguistically close to both Kawaiisu and Uintah Ute, and geographically intermediate, it displays more than twice as many peculiarities when compared with Kawaiisu as does Uintah Ute. Dr. Sapir remarks with regard to Uintah Ute and Kaibab Paiute terms of relationship: "Here, as so often, a cultural dividing line runs clear across a homogeneous linguistic group."[27] The writer would go a step farther and remark that, if our evidence is correct, the northeastern extremity (Uintah Ute) of the group is in closer agreement with the southwestern extremity (Kawaiisu) than either one is with the middle (Kaibab Paiute). Hence the homogeneous linguistic group may be spoken of as trisected rather than bisected.

[27] A Note on Reciprocal Terms of Relationship in America, Am. Anthr., n. s., xv, 137, 1913.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

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602 KIN RELATIONSHIPS--conception of kinship; cultural definition of kinship statuses; kinship symbolism and its extensions (e.g., to kings, to gods); interpenetration of kinship with other aspects of culture (e.g., nepotism); analyses of patterned kinship behavior; incidence and interpretations of stereotyped patterns (e.g., joking, respect, avoidance); categories of kin not classifiable elsewhere (e.g., patrikin and matrikin, general affinal relatives) and relationships among them; etc. Data on relationships between specific secondary and tertiary relatives will be found in separate categories. See also:

Kin groups 61
Functional integration 182
Mutual aid 476
Visiting and hospitality 574
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Marriage restrictions 582
Patterned behavior between primary relatives . 593
Kin relationships within polygamous families . 595
Political nepotism 661
Mortuary functions of kinsmen 784
Sex prohibitions and permissions between kinsmen 836
Changes in social relationships upon birth of child 851
Instruction of children in kinship behavior 867

595 837 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as wo·'lišn.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born, 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died before they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

163 165

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

[578]

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 784 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

[p. 44(6)]

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
[648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
● [602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used [231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of these 2

[p. 76(6)]

159 My son used to do that; it was bad. He'd get
682 drunk and then lie down, outside, but he had
761 never gotten sick before from doing that. But when we went outside that morning we found him lying there with his mouth all blue, and he was dead. There were tracks around there; they said the Tule man had been there, but we hadn't heard anything that night. But they tracked the Tule man on horseback, down to the canyon. He had told somebody before that, "I'm going to kill that boy." That's how we knew he had done it.

159 When the Tule man saw Legora one time after that he told her not to tell her son Lloyd about it when Lloyd grew up; he said, "Don't tell that boy when he gets big, anything about that." He was afraid, you see.

159 Legora had another boy 3 yrs. after her first
163 child. Then she had a daughter 3 yrs. after that. When her second son was a baby, just crawling around, I got a telegram. We were at yïtiyamup; Steban brought the telegram up there with him when he went to Weldon one day. It had stayed in the postoffice at Weldon for 2 days. My brother, ku·pal, had died over at Paiute and his relations had sent for me and for his 2 sons. They were both working on ranches around here at that time.

159 I started for Paiute that afternoon; Tony
493 Pablo's father went with me and took his oldest son along. We went in a buggy; my nephews went ahead, on horseback. We stayed all night at Havilah; we camped out alongside the road. It was cold; we had to keep a fire going all night long. At sunup we started off again; it was too cold to start before the sun was up. We had to go over 2 big mts.; the road was steep; it takes a long time to get there in a buggy. But we arrived that afternoon about 3 o'clock.

159 "Oh, we buried him yesterday," they told us.
764 They took me over there where they had buried him. They were just staying around the house waiting for us to get there; there were 2 houses; my brother's wife was living in one with 3 children and her married daughter lived in the other one with her children.

159 We stayed over there 2 nights. The day after
765 we got there they burned my brother's clothes. I had bought $2 worth of calico at a store, to burn with his clothes. We cried for him when we burned his clothes. I could eat meat after that without having my face washed, but my sister-in-law couldn't; if my parents had been alive they wouldn't have either.

The next day after the burning we returned home. It only took us one day to get home; we left there early in the morning and arrived at the rancheria about sundown.

159 Then my mother's brother told me to come and
591 live up at Canebrake. "Pretty soon I'm going to
602 die, then you can have this land," he said. He was living at Canebrake; when we moved up there he stayed with us. We all went up there; Irene (LT's daughter) was little then and Legora was

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Cane-
brake then, when we first moved up there. The
children grew old enough to go to school, so
[487] every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch;
Legora's children used to go to school from there
in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake
[221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came
up there for the children; then we stayed there
all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old
man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle
had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle
had a little tule house and he used to build a
big fire all the time in the middle of the house,
on the ground. There were big dry logs all around
outside the house. We went up there; everybody
went up to see the corpse. There was just a lit-
tle bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already
owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had
Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then John-
nie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John
Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One
time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we
were sitting outside the house one evening in
summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that
time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his
guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight
toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl.
None of us could catch him. The next day Irene
felt sick; that night she had convulsions and
foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk,
she didn't eat anything. That night, about mid-
night, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I
have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave
us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the
buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu)
doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was
about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock
that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she
wouldn't eat or drink anything.

756 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8
159 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang;
he danced, hopping all around inside his house;
near daylight he went outside and looked toward
the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here
now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't
see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the
doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches,
those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are
the only 2 witches there are in this country;
there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked
Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doc-
tor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leav-
ing Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doc-
tor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it
out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was
all right again. Two months ago she came up here